121 to present anything we have not thoroughly investigated. We have not stepped outside the geographic limits set forth except for a few incidental remarks. Although the cultural uniformity of the Nkundó-Mongo is remarkable it is not, of course, absolute. And if we have used the title Mariage des Nkundó (Marriage among the Nkundu), we have done so because it was difficult to find one which would be more appropriate for the geographic and ethnic limits of [14] this study. It is very likely that in most cases our data are valid beyond the limits we have laid out, but to generalize upon it before making a thorough study of each group would be contrary to all scientific method. The reader is therefore earnestly requested to take these remarks into account and to abstain from giving our conclusions too broad a scope.

Familial institutions in themselves and in their totality are outside the scope of this book. But since they are based on marriage, they have an important place within our framework. We must necessarily touch upon them, but we will limit our excursions into that realm to what is required to make the general description intelligible. On the other hand, the study of marriage throws a good deal of light on familial institutions.

128 596 614 The words "family," "clan," "group," etc. recur frequently. The family is an entity smaller than the clan, and the latter is subordinate to the group. Since it is very difficult to give a precise definition, however, we have taken the trouble to make a clear distinction only when necessary. (1) [Editor's Note: Elsewhere we use

1. See Chapter V, Article III.

them more as generic terms or even as synonyms. In order to make family relationships and the expressions used by the Nkundó to designate them more comprehensible, we are attaching an example of a genealogical table.]

113 I know of the following previous studies on the same subject:

Engels, "Les Wangata," Revue Congolaise, 1910, which also deals with marriage.

G. Kaptein, "Familieleven en -zeden bij de Inboorlingen van den Evenaar," Congo, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 531. [15] This study covers

174 on the other hand, is extremely repugnant by nature, especially for
836 the Nkundɔ. It is a vice which comes about only as a result of special beliefs or through a fundamental degeneration of sexuality.

The breaking up of the framework of traditional organization may furnish a partial explanation in this realm as in many others. In the case of sexual relations between single adults, it might even be deemed sufficient. As much may be said about greed, vanity, the desire for ostentation and display. These are very natural sentiments in a woman, and they were greatly stimulated by the dazzling riches imported from Europe. But these facts are not sufficient in themselves to account for everything. They are especially and entirely inadequate in explaining the considerable changes in the relations between immature children, and we are thus forced to accept the explanation given by serious natives.

3. Children born out of wedlock

848 Among the Nkundɔ, giving birth to a child outside of wedlock has never from time immemorial been considered a grave misdemeanor. It is not considered criminal, as ethnographers say it is among many other African peoples.

Furthermore, this attitude logically follows from the liberty permitted to adolescents, as described above. Neither the woman nor her lover are harassed or punished as a result. On the contrary, the grandparents joyfully receive the child, who adds to the size, power, and wealth of the clan. [88] For an illegitimate child (entombɔ) (1)

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1. Such a child is also known as bɔna ɔa wanɛ, "child of the sunlight," or bɔna ɔa bombamboka, "child of the highway" or "of a girl of the streets." Among the Bombomba the term bokelankɔlo is also heard.

does not belong to its natural father. It is incorporated into the mother's family. It is said that he is born without a father. His

posterity constitute a separate family in the clan of his maternal ancestors; it is called jwɔ̌moto or etɔ̌o ɛy'ɔ̌nankáná (that is, the patrilineal posterity of the sister's son). Families and clans that have originated in this manner are not particularly rare in this region. One may even find an entire village born in this manner. Thus, Mbelɛ́ of the Bombwanja-Boɛ́ndɛ́ is the etɔ̌o ɛy'ɔ̌nankáná of Lileko. A more striking example is that of the Injɔ́lɔ́ tribe, descended from the sister of Nsimba and Eanga, who are respectively the ancestors of the Ntɔ́mbá and the Bolɛ́ngɛ́. Since the male ancestor is unknown, it is assumed that their origin is due to an extramarital conception by the mother, and that her son, Nkɔ́lɔ́bisɛ́, had no father. The same is true of the Wesɛ́ subtribe, bɔ̌nankáná of the eldest subtribe Engɔ́njɔ́, as well as of the Ngombe subtribe, which is bɔ̌nankáná of the Wesɛ́.

It would be incorrect, however, to attribute the origin of all the "jwɔ̌moto" clans to illegitimate children, for they may have come into existence for other reasons. Thus it is known that the ancestors of certain clans were born of a legitimate union, but the bride price payment had not yet been completed. Then, as some sort of obstacle intervened, the relationship by marriage was broken, and the child was incorporated into the mother's clan. The obstacle which interrupts the bride price payment may be a disharmony between the engaged couple or their families, as in the case of the Basɛ́ká Etáfɛ̌ngela of the Bakáala; but it is more likely to be war or the migrations of the tribes at certain periods of their history. The latter reason may have separated more than one husband from a wife for whom he had only made an initial payment at the time her child was born.

The fact then that many "female" clans exist in a [89] region does not prove that illicit relationships between single people were common in the past -- especially if one also takes into account that pregnancies were formerly much more frequent than they are nowadays. It merely shows that such relationships did occur.

An illegitimate child is considered and treated by the maternal grandfather as if it were his own. No distinction is made between him and the legitimate children. He is in no way despised. He has a voice in family councils and deliberations. And since according to Nkundɔ́ notions his relationship to his first cousins is that of father to son, he

848 has precedence over them and can become head of the family after his grandfather and uncles. In his natural father's clan, on the other hand, he has nothing to say.

848 596 If a man pays the bride price for a girl who has had a child by him, he asks his father-in-law to let him have his illegitimate child. This wish is almost always granted. The father-in-law well understands his son-in-law's fatherly sentiment of love and considers it quite legitimate and proper that a father should himself possess the [589] fruit of his own flesh. The only condition laid down is that because of the child the son-in-law must increase the amount of the bride price valuables by an extra slave or his equivalent. (1)

1. This transaction may even take place after the mother's death.

The father is not in a position to invoke any rights strictly speaking. The child is not considered as his because of his physical paternity, but only because of his father-in-law's kindness. If the latter were to refuse the father's request, he would not be acting in violation of justice. But his behavior would be considered as inhumane toward his daughter's husband and his grandson, and it would be criticized.

When a child is adopted by his natural father in this fashion, no one despises him for his illegitimate birth [90]. This procedure may therefore be considered to establish his legitimacy.

848 178 Nowadays, among the Beloko and their Elinga, the practice of "buying" the child has sprung up. That is, if a man does not marry a woman who has had a child by him, he pays her parents a certain amount in order to obtain the child. There does not seem to be much opposition to the introduction of this custom, which springs from an honorable feeling for paternity and its duties. Its only disadvantage is that in such a case the child may never claim any rights in his mother's clan. (1)

1. See Chapter VIII, Article IV.

848 614 583 If a stranger marries an unwed mother, he is never given the child, which remains in the mother's family. This situation is clearly distinguished from those mentioned above.

848 614 583 What happens is that when such a woman goes to live with her husband and her child is too young to remain with his grandparents, she takes him along. Later when the boy reaches adulthood, he sometimes settles with the clan of his mother's husband and produces a posterity. But he is more or less discredited by the adopting clan (and by the others). [1] He has no political rights there, no mpifo. His posterity is called mbɔ̂solɨ́ (from mbɔ̂sa, "behind" and bolɨ́, "clan of origin"). (2) Its members may marry members of the adopting clan,

2. They also say "he was brought in the sling," bôyɛ́lákí ndɨ́ lombɛ́.

excepting of course the descendants of their common mother. They also have their own cemetery. They thus form a separate clan within the village.

The practice of "bringing a child in the sling" seems to be disappearing at the present time, because everyone wants to remain in his own clan. Government policy deprives natives who do not live with their own families of almost all their rights. Moreover, [91] today it is much easier than in the past to procure the means for establishing a home. This last problem was certainly an important reason why a man would settle with the clan of his mother's husband.

848 684 The preceding clearly shows that a lover by whom an unmarried girl has a child incurs no blame, penalty, or fine. He has no obligation to care either for the mother or the child. Neither justice nor propriety requires him to marry the unwed mother. No indemnity is exacted.

There is only one exception: that is, if the mother dies as a result of the pregnancy or the delivery, or if the child is stillborn or born sickly, deformed, or crippled. In such cases the lover has to pay a heavy indemnity (mbɔ̂laka) (1) That is why an unmarried woman

1. For the child, the indemnity goes up to 50 rings; for the mother, 50 rings and a slave (or his equivalent in currency), or 75 to 100 rings.

who is pregnant is pressed into giving the name of her accomplice as

4. Onanism [coitus interruptus]

893 Onanism also seems to be unknown. No doubt many women have learned this vice through their concubinage with Europeans, but they have not spread it. The same may be said of involuntary onanism. For the native does not look for sensual refinements; rather he follows his natural impulse. (1)

1. The practice described in Chapter X, Article III, 3, may be slightly tainted with onanism; it could certainly lead to such a practice, but it is not caused by perversion.

Article VII. Incest

895 We here must distinguish between 1) sexual relations between 64 distantly related kin and 2) between close kin.

1. Among distant relatives

Incest among distant relatives (in the Nkundó sense of the word) has existed since time immemorial. It is called lonkâna (bombaka among the Bombwanja). Lonkâna is derived from nkâna, "brother, sister." The expression lisla j'ɔlɔlɔ, "sexual union in the village," is also used. The term lonkâna is applied to relations between members of families which are only very distantly related (not at all related, according to our notions) but between whom marriage is not permitted. Thus one hears that such and such kin groups do not marry each other (bafɔyakumbɔlɛ) but they commit lonkâna. Two kin groups of this sort may be considered closely related clans. The groups between whom lonkâna is practiced each has its own cemetery, while those between whom it is absolutely forbidden share a common cemetery. Thus, to cite an example, the "village" [98] of Elanga l'Imomo l'Ontole (Bongili) is composed of three kin groups, as the name indicates. The Imomo settlement is partially located in the

835 allied district of the Bombomba). The same is true of the Bontole.
614 Elanga and Imomo, together with Eleke (Lokongo), comprise the posterity of the son of Amba, who was the sister of Iloko, Eanga, and Bokungu, the latter being the ancestor of the Bontole. The three groups do not intermarry. Between the Elanga and the Imomo, lonkâna relations are also not permitted, but they are practiced with the Bontole. Note that the term lonkâna is never applied to relations between truly separate clans, that is, between exogamous entities.

To define the precise limits of this practice we would have to examine each kin group separately, and this would lead us too far afield.

It should also be noted that lonkâna may be limited to an isolated act, or it can become an intermittent concubinage. The name of the practice does not change when it involves a married woman who is visiting her family. Sanctions against adultery are applicable to such a case, however, as to all others. (1) Although

1. See Chapter VI, Article VIII.

the relatives of the woman are more lenient than if the adulterous relations had occurred with a different lover, the husband whose rights have been infringed on makes no such distinction.

835 The custom of lonkâna seems rather strange. After all, if
614 sexual relations between these clans are not reprehensible, why is
174 marriage between them forbidden? This is an apparent contradiction which merits attention. Should not this practice be viewed as a relaxation of the law of exogamy? In past times all sexual relations between members of the clans under discussion would have been forbidden, a very natural phenomenon when the families originated. [99] Later the young people would have succumbed to the temptation, and little by little infractions would even have multiplied. For as the clans became increasingly extended, the temptations became more and more numerous and the rule, now detached from its natural significance because very distant kinship was involved, came to seem more or less arbitrary to the interested parties. It was supported by no sanction or

835 fear. (1) Thus the very number of violations would have gradually
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1. Actually, no sanction is provided against marriages within an exogamous entity; everything lies in the opposition of parents and elders and in a habit which is almost innate.

made the practice customary. Powerless to stop it, the persons in authority, guardians of traditional morality, would have contented themselves with channeling the development and restricting it to a minimum by being lenient on the subject of extramarital relations in order to save the principle of exogamy. This explanatory hypothesis can find a little confirmation in the fact that at the very beginning of colonization when European influence was not felt as yet, there were isolated and very rare cases of marriage in opposition to the law of exogamy between members of groups which were only very distantly related but already practiced lonkâna. The exception then became the rule; and from then on the two groupings in question intermarried regularly and without hindrance, while other families remained under the ancient law. Thus there is the known case of Boyela village (Bakɛ̂ala), which includes the Bokambɛ̂, Bembakɔ̂, Besɔ̂lɔ̂, and Bekɔ̂lama (extinct), all descendants of Ngonde and one wife; his union with another spouse gave rise to the Lilekɛ̂ and the Likongo, to whom Bongilɛ̂, a group related through marriage (likilo), is attached. These two groups of families could not intermarry, but they did engage in lonkâna. Around the time of the first arrival of the Whites, a member of the Bembakɔ̂ [100] family a certain Bonjɔmbɔ̂ was impelled by an excessive love to violate the law of exogamy by taking Bolondɔ̂ of Lilekɛ̂ for his wife. As his love did not cool and the marriage proved stable, it was recognized and accepted as legitimate. Since then the two groups in question have each become exogamous.

835 2. Between close relatives
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Incest between close relatives has no special name of its own. As a matter of fact, it never occurs as an outgrowth of passion. We

582 567 matters are more important than the father's ancestry. (1)

[554]

1. Among the Nkundó no shame is attached to not knowing the family of one's father. But not to be able to name the mother's clan is a great dishonor for it proves that she was a slave.

There is less opposition to the first generation born of a couple who were both slaves than for their parents, and it progressively decreases with each succeeding generation. There is practically no opposition now to the grandsons. The reason seems to be [597] that although receiving a wife from one's master in a regular marriage does not constitute emancipation (nsikó, nsikola) for the slave, it is a kind of adoption (wɛ́mya, -ɛmya). [246]

Article III. Kinship

582 835 Marriage between members of the same kin group (isangano, bosangema, from the verb -sangema, "to be related") is forbidden. But how far does such a kin group extend? It is impossible to give a general rule. On the one hand, it is certain that if two groups are not descended from a common ancestor there is no bond of kinship between them, even if they live side by side. But on the other hand, it is not possible to say that all those who are descended from the same ancestor are relatives and that marriage is forbidden between the various branches of the grouping they comprise. The question therefore amounts to knowing by which ancestor the exogamous grouping is defined. A decision on this point may only be made through the examination of each case individually.

● 614 It is impossible to deduce anything from the meaning of the term clan, for it is usually defined as "a grouping of families united to one another by kinship." This leaves us back where we started. The characteristics usually given for a clan are: generic name,

614 totemic bond (1), collective responsibility, and exogamy, and do

> 1. Totemism does not seem to exist among the Nkundó. In any case it is not apparent here as it is elsewhere.

not provide a solution either. For the elements of this definition must be complementary to one another to provide an adequate intension, and it is impossible to determine the limits within which they operate among the Nkundó.

Thus we would have to make a list of all the groupings of these people and examine them in order to find out which ones correspond to the idea of an exogamous clan. And this is not feasible. Nevertheless, for the sake of illustration, here is the genealogy of the Bongíli:

Their ancestor Tólenjou had two sons, Iloko and Bokungú, and a daughter, Ámbá, by one wife. By two other wives he had Elíngá, father of the Ikengya, and Efoloko, father of the [247] Bolénge. Iloko's progeny gave rise to the villages of Ifutó, Mbángé, and Lofelí; Bokungú's progeny to Boambá (and Ifoku), Ndongó, Bolongwankoi, Etoóntálé, Bontálé, Lokónola (part of Imomo), and Betoló l'Ibela (whose people live with the Boambá). Through Ámbá there originated the villages of Elíngá, Imomo, and Eleke (the latter together with Bolongwankoi from the village of Lonkongo).

Tólenjou
|
Bokungú
|
Bengóngó
|
Enkéké
|
Longwokó
(died at a very old age in 1933)

●614 Thus we have five groups which are exogamous; marriage is forbidden within each group, but not with members of the other groups. The little genealogy above gives some idea of the antiquity of the line and of the distance which separates its present members from the founding ancestor of the tribe. It should be noted that each exogamous group is subdivided into several villages, clans, and families. The same limits appear to be set with respect to the maternal line; marriage with the descendants of brothers and sisters of the ancestress, wife of the ancestor of the exogamous grouping, is forbidden. (1)

1. Note that lonkâna relations are practiced within each of the five exogamous groups, but not between the descendants of the same ancestress, wife of one of the ancestors, and of her bibísa. See Chapter I, Article VII, 1.

In investigating this subject the family of the ancestress must be taken into account as well as the paternal line.

In order to be able to define an exogamous group precisely, it is therefore necessary to study not only several villages, but also various tribes. For a single group may be composed of several families who live far from each [248] other and have sometimes become attached to groupings of people who are only very distantly related or even complete strangers. In such a case therefore a single village may include several exogamous groups.

614 621 Such is the case of the Bóendé, descended from the ancestor Ilumbé yă Mpumo. From his first wife, Edmé, arose the Etóo groups, from his other wives, the Bongangá groups. They do not marry among themselves but are a good example of a complex composition.

The Etóo are dispersed in four villages:

1) Etóo of Lotólá
2) Etóo of Bakovó or Mbúlanéne, both Baséká Bombóngo
3) Etóo of Mbémbé or Baséká Bofíyolo
4) Etóo of Bosánjo or Baséká Eóngó

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621 The Bongangá are divided as follows:

1) Bongangá, in the narrow sense of the term (Basêká Inanô, B. Bolaká, B. Bongêngê, B. Bandûwá, B. Lokôkômyá)

2) Bongangá of Bakoyô, or Bolíma

3) Bongangá of Mbômbê or Basêká Botûna

Thus Lotôlá, Bakoyô, and Mbômbê each have an Etôo group and a Bongangá group. The Bongangá, in the narrow sense of the term, have in addition a "slave" group named Batsína, a part of which is located with the Bosânjo. A foreign clan is settled with the Etôo of Lotôlá; they are the Bofalambôka, descendant of a man named Ekonda (Imbolo) and his sister who was married to Mbete, a slave from Bompângá (Wângatá) who was freed by his master.

Many villages have foreign groups living with them such as descendants of slaves (ekwála), or others (Ekonda, Bombwanja, groups related by marriage called likilo, mpâmá or bowêlê, and mbûsolá, (1) etc.). [249]

[609] 1. Mpâmá or bowêlê are any foreigners who were formerly invited by the group patriarch to remain with him in order to carry out certain tasks, especially metal-working. Mbûsolá is the term applied to a child born to a woman out of wedlock (Chapter I, Part 2, Article IV, 3). Such children are also called nkio y'ăôme, "the husband's flying dogs," because they are not his own children but are attached to their mother's husband in the fashion of these animals, who attach themselves to trees when they sleep.

[848]
[825]

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582 If we add the descendants of relatives who have married into other more or less remote groupings, the prohibition against marriage on account of kinship applies to a good many people. In accordance with the law of exogamy, such a kin group may be widely dispersed geographically, and it is understandable that it is not always easy to

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● 614 untangle all the threads. Thus it happens that young people form
582 relationships with the intention of marrying without knowing that they are related; they are warned only by the opposition and ensuing explanations of the elders.

We may conclude that marriage among descendants of a common ancestor is generally prohibited if they live in the same village. It is frequently permitted on the other hand, if they belong to different villages, provided that they are not, at the same time, related to one of the ancestresses.

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582 Clearly, it is difficult to say what precise degree of kinship
835 formed the basis for the prohibition of or permission for a marriage between descendants of a common ancestor, or what are the boundaries of an exogamous grouping.

It is also apparent from the preceding observations -- as
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[611] from the examination of affinity as an obstacle to marriage -- that the descent from a common mother is a more important factor than descent from the father. This does not give proof of a form of matriarchy, though it could be the remains or the beginning of one, or could provide a partial explanation for one. It stems quite simply
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[842] from the Nkundó notions concerning procreation, in which they
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[602] attribute the major role to the mother. There is also the fact that greater shame is attached to being united with a person descended
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[593] from the same woman, and finally the fact that they feel a stronger affection for the mother than for the father (a sentiment [250] which is accentuated by polygamy). The three causes are closely related.

Finally, it should be noted that there is a group among the
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184 Nkundó we are discussing which is less strict than the others in this
582 matter. The relatives among whom marriage is prohibited is definitely more limited; that is, their exogamous groupings are more limited. The people in question are the Bongale (see Introduction), and the same phenomenon may be observed among the Elínga. (1)

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[582] 1. The Batswa are still more liberal, and in this respect their practices differ very little from ancient European laws and customs.

684 582 There is no sanction against the infraction of the law of exogamy. There is only the opposition of the parents and patriarchs, and a quasi-innate habit.

582 614 Note also that members of certain clans frequently marry members of certain others, among whom they prefer to choose their wives. Therefore a good proportion of the women married into any given family will belong to one particular clan. The Wafɛ (Bakaala), for instance take a great many of their wives from among the Bongale w'ôtɔlɔ.

[174] 582 614 We may reasonably assume that the ancestors of related groups, who now marry among themselves, formerly practiced exogamy. If this assumption is correct, it must be admitted that with the progressive growth of families, this rule has been relaxed in certain respects so that the present situation has resulted. Consequently, it would not be surprising if these legal provisions became even less rigorous in the future. Actually, some young people have begun to [178] violate the rules of exogamy and their example has freed the whole family. (2) Thus the Bokatola maintain that their two groupings,

2. See Chapter I, Article VII, 1.

Bompela and Ilɔngɛ, who now intermarry, formerly comprised a [251] single exogamous entity. Contemporary instances appear here and there, but they remain very rare, even between persons who are very distantly related, and much rarer between close kin. (1) For the

1. A recent case was that of Elima and Bolɔfe, who both belonged to the exogamous group of Bokenyola of the Bonjoku, but one belonged to the Baseka Bokɔyɔ family and the other to the Baseka Njoli.

Nkundɔ still feel very strongly about this law. The bulk of the people are entirely opposed to any laxity or violations and the patriarchs and notables act against them with all their power. But the strength of

582 their intervention is greatly reduced by the fact that much of their
604 authority has been shifted to the chiefs named by the colonial administration, and also by all the contingencies of modern life. Since on the other hand, the young people are gradually breaking the ancient limits in order to acquire greater freedom, the elders will one day have to yield to them.

Article IV. Affinity

582 Affinity among the Nkundó should not be understood to have
602 the meaning given in European civil or ecclesiastic law. Marriage is forbidden with all persons who are bakilɔ́ (Sing. bokilɔ́). (2)

2. Contrary to the statement by Father Kaptein (Congo, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 541).

Therefore one must know what persons are called bakilɔ́, a fairly complicated problem for us Europeans.

To make the matter more understandable, certain considerations must be developed before giving the general rules.

1. General considerations

1) Affinity is not as great an obstacle to marriage as kinship. It is possible to obtain a sort of "dispensation," and for many degrees of affinity, divorce or death removes the barrier. But there are transgressions [252], and, except for the few indicated above, these do not occur in cases of kinship.

The following legitimate reasons for a "dispensation" are given: a danger that the patrimony will be scattered because of the infidelity of a wife who absolutely refuses to remain with her husband, added to the difficulties of a divorce palaver and the subsequent reimbursements, and -- a reason closely linked to the one just given -- a passionate love between the two people who are relatives by marriage.

Article II. Property

593 x 614 [764] Through marriage, a woman does not become a member of her husband's clan. If for example she is born into the Bofétola clan, she remains all her life all her life bosí Bofétola, "member of the Bofétola clan," and her corpse has to be buried in her native soil. In case of divorce and remarriage, the new husband does not refund the bride price to the former one; he pays the woman's parents, and they reimburse the forsaken husband.

593 x 421 All the wife's activity, however, is directed toward the good of her husband and his family, and this is so from the time of the ikulá payment. Her parents have no further rights over their daughter. All the fruits of her labor are her husband's property.

If she finds objects that have no owner, such as, for example, elephant tusks or buried copper rings of which no one claims ownership, they do not belong to her nor to her family, but exclusively to her husband. If he shares with his parents-in-law, he does so out of affection and respect for them. He has no legal obligation to do so, but propriety and cordial relations impose a certain duty on him.

Profits from the sale of the products of her industry (such as foods for market, mats, salt, pots, baskets) belong not to her but to her husband.

Even whatever she acquires during a visit to her parents, everything she finds while she is with her family, the fish she catches, the caterpillars she gathers in the forest there, all that belong exclusively to her husband.

It sometimes happens that a woman infringes on the husband's rights in this respect. If he is kind he will generally let her do as she [577] pleases. Severity on his part would be attributed to a lack of affection toward his wife or a lack of delicacy toward his parents-in-law, and he would even be criticized for being stingy (never unjust!), a more serious criticism than the others from the Nkundó point of view. [263] Dishonest conduct on the part of a wife, however, may give rise to incidents, and even to serious ones. That is what happened in the historic case of Efoloko of Ikengya (Bongíli), who was married to [578] Mpokú of Imomo. She had gone fishing at home and had given all her fish

Article IV

Relations Between the Wife and Her Family

593x 614 Through marriage, a woman does not enter into her husband's family. She continues to belong to her own clan of origin and continues to submit to the special regulations [284] of her family (bokumo) (1) The bokumo pertaining to parturition is excepted, for

> 1. The bokumo are special regulations governing a given clan, particularly prohibitions against partaking of certain foods (animal or vegetable) always or only at certain times. The punishment for a transgression is a kind of itching which covers the whole body. One might think this is totemism, but the idea of kinship to the forbidden being is entirely absent.

because of the child she must observe the bokumo of her husband's clan in this realm.

593x 574 Although the wife is completely dependent on her husband for everything else -- work, property, etc. -- she remains bound to her own parents by obligations of respect, love, and assistance. She has to visit them from time to time, but too great a frequency in these visits meets with disapproval. It is impossible to give a rule defining the proper number. The answer must be provided by good sense. Sensible people prefer that the wife not make too many of these trips. Even her own parents want this to be so. For repeated attentions of this sort are considered evidence of a lack of love and attachment for her husband.

Women who very faithfully stay in their homes and only rarely visit their parents, sometimes yield in face of the teasing of [626] their companions. For the Nkundɔ is very sensitive to spiteful comments of that kind. Among current expressions there is one that has become a popular saying and is sometimes sung during dances:

593x 574 ótswáká lísla otswák'olá, bafókolaka mbók'éy'olá la ngom'a nkolé, "If you are married go back to your parents, or you will be taught the way with drums and gongs," that is, "when you are dead." (2)

[164] [644] [534]

2. A woman is buried in her own native clan. Her corpse is transported there to the accompaniment of drums and horns. The lokolé gong announces her death.

593x 602 A married woman may not evade the duty of helping her relatives under special circumstances (pregnancy, illness, serious accidents, death). This obligation [285] is not limited to her mother and father, but extends to all her relatives; the closer the degree of kinship, the stricter the obligation.

Besides, love of family is sufficiently developed so that there is no danger of the woman forgetting herself too much in this realm. [626] And a husband who would like to prevent her from fulfilling these elementary duties would be much criticized by all and should expect a dissolution of the marriage.

593x 574 342 556 It was said above that a husband builds a hut for his wife. His relatives often assist him in this task. But it also happened -- in the past, for colonization has removed the possibility of it -- that the woman's father wanted to build his daughter's house himself or at least to make the pavement out of clay brought from her native land. This act was a demonstration of wealth and politico-social importance as well as proof of fatherly affection. The husband, for his part, was honored to have married the daughter of such an important man and loved her all the more. Thus a number of women say that "they only cooked on ancestral soil." This soil was brought in baskets across distances up to 50 kilometers by Batswa and by men of the woman's clan or village. Her father could do it because of his great influence and regal rewards (bokóndo, verb kónda) were distributed during a feast (nteke) given for the workers and their relatives after the task was completed. This was done for Bompeli, daughter of Bokombe of Litúli (Bombwanja) married to Bonyeme w'enyuka of the Basékâ Mbangó (Bonkoso); for Beluka, daughter of

593* Iongo of Bokákyá (Boselo, Bombwanja), married to Bokaa is 'Ifonda
574 of Bowélé; for Mbalaka, daughter of Bolekela wa Imangaiso of the
342 Baséká Lokuli (Bongíli), married to Mbuli is'ea Wela of Bombóngo
556 w'Etefa (Bongale) (1) [286]

[551] 1. She bore the name of Mbálaka (meaning indemnity), because her father had solemnly proclaimed (-békya) and publicly promised that he intended, one day, to place himself in the position of having to pay an indemnity because of his daughter, as proof of his love. Indeed [782] when Mbálaka was married, he killed one of his wives, cut her into pieces, and sent the "meat" to his son-in-law as "the first hen" that his wife would prepare for him. But he did not have to pay [682] the indemnity because the victim's clan [614] was too weak to attempt a war; they did not dare to make a claim and, in order to avoid even greater misfortunes, they resigned themselves to this revolting ignominy.

Article V

Relations Between the Husband and His Wife's Family

606 As has already been said, kinship by marriage is called likilɔ́,
607 and relatives by marriage are called bokilɔ́, bakilɔ́. Mbɔ́tsolɔ́ is a term of respect for very close relatives by marriage (father-in-law, mother-in-law, sometimes brother-in-law or sister-in-law). When there is a considerable age difference between two affinal relatives, the elder one sometimes calls the younger bokilɔ́walé. This happens most frequently when the son-in-law is so young that he can still be considered a child. This term can even be used by an elder brother

595x 192 Qualifying expressions are sometimes added to the name nkɔ́nde: ɛ̂a boáŋga, referring to the boáŋga on which the favorite is seated during the ceremony in which her position is established, and ɛ̂a konjo, "true." The two terms are used as opposed to a nkɔ́ndɛ́ ɛ̂a wɛɔ́lí, whose position is established without any special ceremony, in imitation of a true, officially recognized favorite.

The expression for "making a nkɔ́ndɛ́" is ɔ́ja nkɔ́ndɛ́, "to make a nkɔ́ndɛ́ come out," because she is proclaimed as such before the public gathering. Nowadays one often hears the expression tɛ́na nkɔ́ndɛ́, a term which is very probably transferred from the bolúmbú. (See the next article.) [348]

Article III. The Bolúmbú

595x 554 The polygamist who by birth or influence is recognized as the primus inter pares of a group of clans and who, to use the Nkundɔ́ term, is jɔkɔ j'ɛ́sɛ́ (1) has the exclusive right to make one of his wives a bolúmbú. Therefore, doing so was not, as with a favorite, a matter of wealth and preference, but rather a mark of influence and authority.

● 614

1. Nowadays one would call him the chief. But actually he was not a chief; he was simply the most respected and influential member of the oligarchy of clan patriarchs. This oligarchy constituted the political administration of the Nkundɔ́, and from time to time an eminent personality gained recognition within it.

In relation to this subject, here is a historical incident showing how an attack on this law resulted in a mysterious punishment, interpreted by the natives as an intervention from beyond the grave for the protection of the ancestral order. The events occurred at Besombɔ́ (Bombwanja), in the Bongilá family. Bonkoso w'ílumwa had married Eyeke of Bokúma and by her had his eldest son

595* 554 that no one will see her. She lives in this house in the company of her ebísa, her daughters, some female relatives, or even another of her husband's wives, who must wait on her, prepare food for her, etc., and who go out and enter freely. Her husband also enters at will and spends the usual number of nights with her. No other man is permitted to enter the enclosure.

During her period of seclusion, the bolúmbú may not do the slightest work. She does not wash with water, but only with palm oil. She walks only on mats. She is also exempt from mourning for her parents. (Compare with Chapter I, Part 1, Article II.)

When the period of seclusion comes to an end, the husband announces the coming-out feast. There is merrymaking, dancing, and drinking. Mats are spread from the door of [351] the hut of seclusion all the way to the middle of the street. The two men who brought the woman to the hut come again and, taking her by the arms at the entrance to the enclosure, lead her over the mats. The ceremony thus ends without further ado.

The bolúmbú is henceforth free and acts like any other woman except for the wearing of furs. She may work, draw water, cook, travel, visit her parents, etc. But her husband's [563] honor and his reputation as a rich man require that he give his [567] bolúmbú one or several slaves, or Batswa, or -- as is more frequently done -- one or two bibísa, who are supposed to take [357] care of her housework and thus free the princess.

595* 554 837 ● 614 Adultery with her -- after her seclusion -- is more severely punished than misconduct with an ordinary woman as regards the indemnity to be paid. But as a flagrant insult, it is considered very serious indeed, not so much as an infringement or marital rights as an attack on the honor of the whole clan or group of clans involved. Thus, while adultery with a nkónde, for instance, is a private matter, arousing the husband's jealousy and anger, misconduct with a bolúmbú is a public offense. The whole clan is enraged -- for they believe that their honor has been attacked, and all the members together press for vengeance for

this outrage (nkɛla eleki ɛy'olɔmbɔ). It is a kind of national dishonor. This observation also clearly pinpoints the great difference between the favorite and the bolɔmbɔ.

The following custom should be mentioned in this connection: if any man, even a stranger or one who comes from a great distance, comes and -- over the fence -- strikes the roof of a bolɔmbɔ's ilɛka of seclusion with his elefɔ (1) as a call to

1. A wooden bell (see Congo, 1935, Vol. 2, p. 366, figs. 4 and 5).

war, the whole village is obliged to take up arms to defend him. All the men [352] accompany him and unite with his family against the enemy clan, whatever the distance may be. The Nkundɔ say that the act of touching the bolɔmbɔ's hut infuriates the entire clan and makes them take up arms without hesitation. (1)

1. Compare the result of a serious offense, whose effect is entirely in the offender's favor, to analogous cases described previously, for example in Chapter III, Article VII; Chapter VI, Article V, 4, Appendix; and below in Chapter VIII, Article II, 3, (2).

One last indication of the social nature of this institution is the fact that the bolɔmbɔ has the right to sit beside her husband at public gatherings and feasts, a prerogative which she alone of all women possesses. With her is a boy or girl who serves as her "boy" and carries the seat (bɔsɔnga) on which she sits.

When a bolɔmbɔ dies her husband may put another in her place. To do so he repeats the ceremony described above. It is called sangoja bolɔmbɔ, "to make succeed to the title of bolɔmbɔ."

As we saw in Chapter I, Part 1, Article II, a man may even make his daughter a bolɔmbɔ.

846 to be able to nurse the child together." This does not mean that
833 from then on they may have regular sexual relations, for these are not permitted until after the end of seclusion. But if they were to omit the act at this time, they would have to abstain from it until the child is weaned. The Nkundó say that the act is performed "only a little." For many it becomes masturbation; others withdraw before obtaining the effect of the act. In no case may the act reach its natural climax. The reason for this practice is unknown to me. Perhaps it is done in order not to molest the woman while she is in a painful condition.

The next day the ashes in the hearth of the seclusion hut
846 are swept out, and the fire becomes "ordinary"; anyone may use it and eat food prepared on it.

4) The umbilical cord is dried on the bolíkó (a tray or shelf) and then buried at the foot of a young banana tree planted for that purpose, preferably under a bonkoní tree if possible. The ashes and sweepings from the seclusion hut are thrown there. The banana tree is called nkíndá. (1) Its fruit may be eaten only by the child's

[824]

1. This is a generic term used for any banana tree planted for a special purpose (a magical practice, a game, etc.).

[153] grandfather and grandmother. If another person eats it, he will be punished with a headache of a nervous type.

The umbilical cord is always buried in the father's native
846 soil. People who are far from home (laborers for the Whites, etc.)
● 614 preserve the umbilical cords of their children with great care in order to take them back [489] when they return to their village, or send them back when a favorable opportunity arises. The Nkundó hold to this usage tenaciously, because a person whose umbilical cord is not buried in the lands of his paternal clan has no authority in the group. The person involved would meet with the following objection: ntákokúndela lokolé, ntákokundela lokokí, óyakúmya ngámo? olé nk'eyâya, "The lokolé was not beaten for you, your

846 umbilical cord was not buried; how dare you boast? You are but a
614 stranger." Therefore this custom constitutes a sort of matriculation into the family. If anyone wants to be entirely certain of a Nkundó's clan, he has only to look for the place where his umbilical cord was buried.

5) The end of seclusion is marked by a few ceremonies.

846 A. A meal. Early in the morning of the day set, the hus-
302 band goes and cuts a bunch of fruit of the palm tree, and the helper goes and picks manioc leaves (nowadays leaves and fruit collected the day before are sometimes used). The helper crushes all of this to make a dish of food. While she cooks it over the fire, she shaves a little hair off the mother, plucks out one eyebrow, and cuts one of her nails. Then she does the same to the child. The helper moves away, and the father comes in. His wife subjects him to the same treatment, and he reciprocates, doing the same to the child. The rubbish is simply thrown away without any ceremony. This practice has no special name; the Nkundó say: báyaténa bekengo, báyakenga, "They shave each other's heads."

When the vegetables are ready, all the women of the vil-
846 lage are gathered together. A little pit is dug in front of the hut. A large leaf is placed in it to serve as a dish, and the vegetables are poured into it. The mother, the helper, and all those assembled eat. Except for a few small boys no representatives of the stronger sex are present. When the meal is completed, [490] the leaf that served as a plate and those that served as spoons are buried in the pit. Today the more advanced of the population use a European plate and spoons. The meal and the vegetables eaten are called losanganya, "reunion," because the entire village is united in partaking of them, or lofanjola, "dispersion," because it is the prelude to the end of the bokeka.

B. Then follows the ceremony of separation (-téna bofofó, or, among the Injóló, bokékéléké. (1) The bofofó is the mid-rib

[776]

1. The expression and the ceremony designated by it are used whenever an important matter, such as a trial, etc., is to be terminated.

177 category of civil servants. In this manner they would fall under the
622 written law and could be obliged to practice monogamy, whereas now nearly all of the "native chiefs" are precisely the maintainers and promoters of polygamy. If this had /156/ been enforced from the start, then polygamy, instead of spreading, would have virtually disappeared from the native society.

5. Splitting of the Clan

613 After all that has been said before, it must be rather apparent how an autonomous clan can split up and, thereby, form two autonomous clans.

When a clan has expanded too far, its leaders cross over the boundaries of blood relationship, and offenses against the law of exogamy occur. When such offenses are multiplied, further separation is gradually aimed at to make marriages possible. Such a situation between two parts of the same clan, who are striving for "legal autonomy," is called lonkana, a term that signifies that unlawful relations exist between the two. It generally occurs between member groups that have the same male ancestor, but not the same female ancestor—that is, they are issue from different wives of the same founder.

Another cause of splitting is the voluntary or obligatory withdrawal of one of the members. When he establishes himself outside, begets a sizeable progeny, and acquires a patrimony of his own, the relations with his own clan become less frequent; and the separated fraction gradually begins to settle smaller lawsuits, to maintain its own graveyard, to bury the umbilical cords of its children in its own territory, to take on its own name, and to refer to its own founder.

Often also at the source of this estrangement lies the refusal of a certain fraction of the clan to submit to the authority of the clan members.

6. Legal Dependents

613 Until now we have spoken only of the ethnic clans of the members
614 who belong to it through descent. They /157/ are the sole bearers of
608

613 authority (mpifo). Each clan can, however, also take in other persons
614 who fall outside the order of authority, but who legally belong to the
608 clan. Along with the real descendants, they make up the legal clan.

These are, in the first place, the wives who have married into the clan the children brought with them (mbusola), and the lawful housekeepers. In addition, there are the clients who have been taken in; then the war prisoners and slaves; and finally the Pygmies. The women married into the clan are naturally separate, as are also the Pygmies who form a completely separate community. The others are gradually treated as children, receive their part in the general responsibility and protection, their place in the court session, etc. Depending on the degree to which they develop in the bosom of the clan which has taken them in, they can constitute a separate group in it, which becomes more and more independent.

7. The Maternal Clan

602 Each Nkundo has a double "fatherland": his wise and his bonyango.
613 The bonyango is the paternal clan of his mother. His mother gave birth to him there; her blood relations live there and receive him with motherly love and will protect him against all difficulties; he has often passed a large part of his happiest childhood years there; and there he can always find a safe shelter when, for one reason or another, he might lose the paternal clan.

The structure of the maternal clan naturally resembles that of the paternal clan in every way. If we treat it specially here, it is not in order to speak of the form, but only to point out the specific rights that each person has in his maternal clan.

601 Just as all of the brothers and sisters of my father are my "fathers,"
602 so all of the brothers and sisters of my mother are my "mothers."
613 Mother's brother, that is, my maternal uncle, I call ngompame, nyangompame. All the nephews and nieces on the mother's side are my "children." A special tie binds me to the children of the nkita of my mother, that is, to the children of the women who was acquired by the maternal clan with the bride price /158/ that had been paid for my mother by my wise. Mother is, thus, the nkolo, the woman or mistress, of those children who call me their father.

602 As long as I continue to live in my own paternal clan, I have the
613 right to special care and love from the maternal clan. If I cannot find

61 another group. According to their relationship to others, groups
602 may be designated as:

brother, younger or older;
brother or half brother (descended from various wives of the polygynous ancestor);
[848] Illegitimate child of the sister which, legally, as the child of the oldest brother or of the father of his mother, belongs to the group of the mother's relatives;
child of a boy who together with his sister has moved to the unit of his brothers-in-law and has settled there permanently;
son of a sister, who for some reason has separated from his paternal relatives and has moved in with the group of his mother or of one of his grandmothers.

601 Present-day social relationships are influenced by this variety of kinship relations. The kinship terms which refer to the relationships of the genuine or assumed ancestors to each other are occasionally transferred to the groups.

●614 In this paper we shall describe the Isangi group (12) as an
602
621

12. Müller, Fürstentum [Kingdom], pp. 68 ff., 125, 128 ff.

[101] example of hierarchical kinship structure. Isangi is a local group of the type described above (p. 1). Following the custom of the region, I shall refer to it as a "village." Until we have decided which terms are applicable to the various groups, I shall use the letters A to E for the individual ranks of the hierarchical structure. Within this system A shall stand for the smallest and E for the largest units (see Diagram 2).[1]

In addition to the three ranks of Group D in Isangi, there are others in the daughter villages (see Diagram 1). These may also include foreign groups, as, for example, the "Nkundó" group, Liimbu, in Wengá.

[1] [See page 6, category 116.--Analyst]

602 614 621 [552] All the groups represented on the diagram (Diagram 2) are known by their names to the adults of Isangi. In addition to their regular name, all these groups also have a "drum" name and an "honorary" name. Only the three Boyeke groups of rank B have different drum names but no individual group names. The arrangement of groups as found on the diagram does not represent a genealogy. It is based simply on the characteristics and functions of the individual groups [190] which in each case are equal to each other on one rank. Thus, we have here an organizational diagram, not a genealogical table. [Diagrams 1 and 2 appear here.]

The people of Isangi are also well aware of the relationships between the individual groups, but they are not as clearly conscious of the system as it appears in our diagram. They are able to describe the kinship relations between the groups and they can point out which functions are assigned to the individual groups without, however, regarding the groups as equal to one another because they have like functions and without seeing them as part of a system as we do. Thus, our diagram represents a systematization which, by its very nature, does not wholly do justice to reality. Correspondingly, therefore, there is no satisfactory Ekonda social terminology.

[191] [Diagram 3 appears here.] Just as in nonscientific European usage, the terms lack sufficient precision. Furthermore, in principle the nature of the groups between rank A to E and of the still larger units is similar, and as a result all the terms are used almost indiscriminately for large and small units alike.

601 621 614 Usually, the word ikundf (literally, "lap") refers to small units, approximately those of ranks A and B, but it is also used for larger and large units if their relatively close degree of kinship is to be stressed. Thus it approximately corresponds to the meaning of the word "family" as used in nonscientific language. The word ilongo refers both to what in European usage is described as the small family [Kleinfamilie] and also to groups of ranks A and B.

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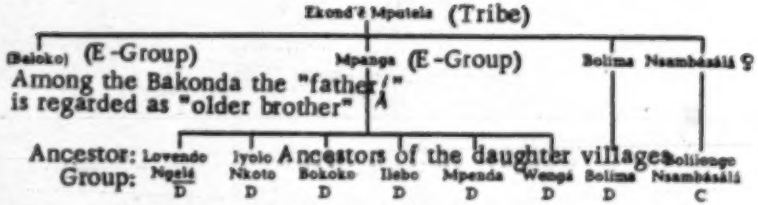
Ekond'é Mpotela (Tribe)
(Boloko) (E-Group)
Mpanga (E-Group)
Bolima
Nsambásálá ?
Among the Bakonda the "father" is regarded as "older brother"
Ancestor: Lovendo Iyolo Ancestors of the daughter villages
Group: Ngslé Nkoto Bokoko Ilebo Mpenda Wenga Bolima Nsambásálá
D D D D D D D C

Diagram 1. Genealogy of the Bakonda. Letters below the group names refer to the rank of the respective groups (see Diagram 2).

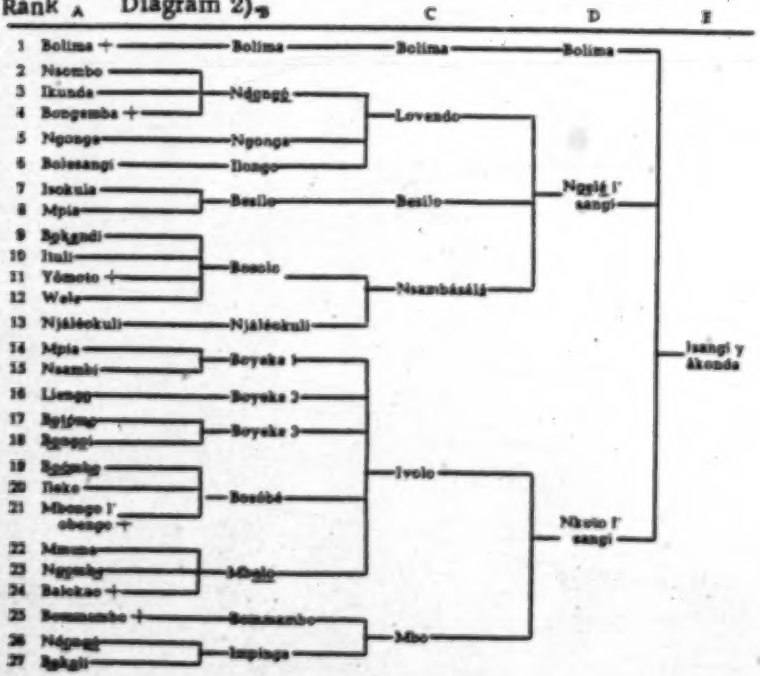

Diagram 2. Kinship Structure of Isangi.

1-27 = Numbering of the A-Groups shown in Diagram 3.

+ = extinct group.

L[ia. of Lonyanyanga, L.]

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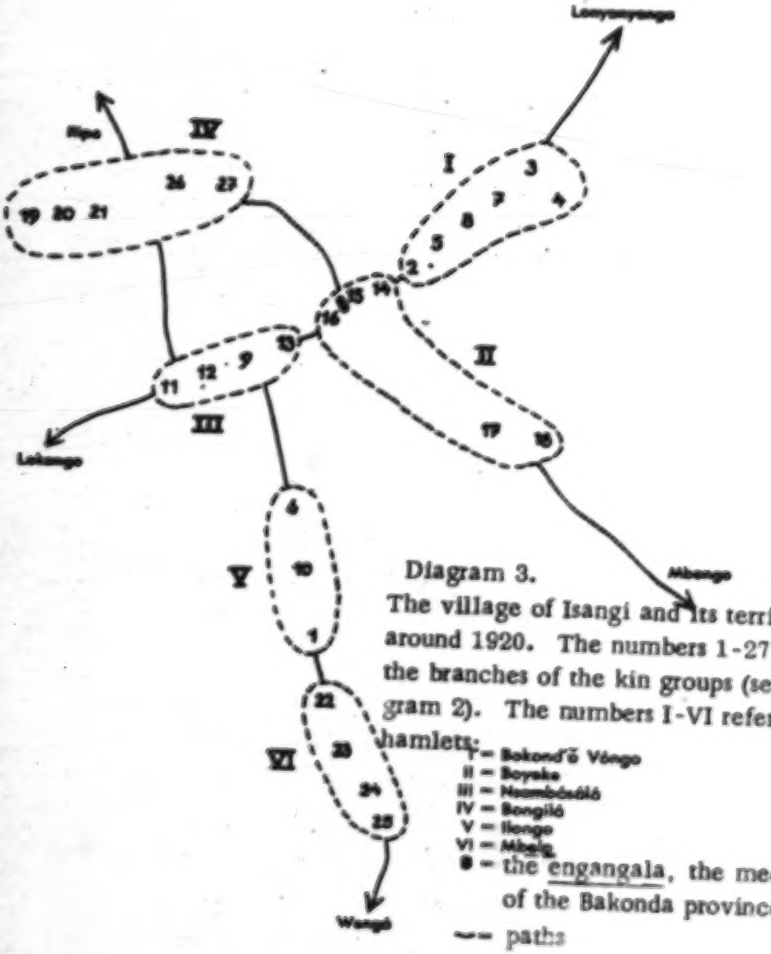


Diagram 3.
The village of Isangi and its territory around 1920. The numbers 1-27 denote the branches of the kin groups (see Diagram 2). The numbers I-VI refer to the hamlets:

I = Bokondó Vóngo
II = Boyaka
III = Nsambándó
IV = Bongilá
V = Ilongo
VI = Mbalá
8 = the engangala, the meeting place of the Bakonda province
~~ paths

601 Bonsonga and etúká are terms used for kinship groups of
621 ranks B, C, and D, but occasionally they may also refer to
614 [192] the groups listed under A and, in addition, to the local groups which in size approximately correspond to the kinship units mentioned above. Etúká is the term used for the oil palm grove and for a certain kind of termite hill; apparently it is used for local groups more frequently than the term bonsonga.

[571] Another term whose meaning varies is ekíndá. This word
[535] designates, first of all, a dance group, a corps de ballet, and also the social unit which sends such a joint dance troupe to dance festivals.

Esé also has strong local connotations. It is usually identical with what we call a village, but frequently units which are larger or smaller than a village are designated as esé. Very large groups, tribes and even larger units, are called bonanga.

614 As a criterion for placing the individual groups within a certain rank, one or several functions have been chosen in each case. The groups of the individual ranks are described below relative to their functions. On the subject of groups it should be added that in general they do not differ from each other in certain traits. All groups of all ranks are kinship units of patrilineal descent. They consider themselves descendants of one ancestor. No continuous and complete genealogy which can be traced back to the original ancestor is known. The genealogy of the entire group of the Bakonda is shown in Diagram 1.

In Isangi two of the ancestors of the groups of rank D are brothers, the third is the brother of their father. A D-group (Ngelé) includes, in addition, the descendants of an illegitimate child of the paternal sister of the ancestor. These offspring form the C-group, Nsambásílé.

There is a gap between this ancient genealogy and the known ancestors from the recent past. In contrast with that of the neighboring Bokóté [Bokete] (see, for example, Boelaert, [173] "Les Bongili"), the genealogical memory of the Ekonda is weak. It does not reach back to the ancestor of the group of rank A. In this connection we must take into account the fact that a group

614 splits up only after the death of the ancestor to whom the new groups can be traced back. The descendants of a patriarch split up into the groups of his sons only when these groups have reached the necessary size. Considering the size of even the smallest Ekonda groups this can occur only after several generations. By this time, however, the common patriarch and his sons, the ancestors of the new subgroups, are dead. Thus, at the present time we find a tendency to split in the Ndong'i-mpinga group; the ancestors of the two groups which are now in the process of forming died about 1920. Most probably these two groups, so far as their age relationship to one another is concerned, will not grade themselves according to the relationship of these "tribal ancestors," but according to the relationship of the "patriarchs" under whom the separation takes place. The exact process of such a split of A-groups cannot be established afterwards through questions; it can only be observed on the spot while it is taking place.

In the following chapters we shall describe the groups of the various ranks and their characteristics.

Groups of Rank A

These groups consist of as many as forty persons. In most 563 cases, a group of Batwá-Pygmoids is part of such a group. Having the function of helots, they belong to the A-group of their masters, and this membership is passed on through the male line in the same manner as among their masters. Excepting Pygmoids, the oldest member of the A group is the bomélé bokonda, the "owner of the land"; he is the personification of all authority within the group and its representative in the group's dealings with outsiders. He is the only person who is completely in charge. All members of the group are in a father-son relationship to him [193] even if the younger members -- as counted by generations -- have the rank of father in relation to him. He administers and issues the group's treasury of objects used for buying a bride. He also disposes of the landed property of the group.

614 He represents the A-group in the council of elders of the village and of the other large units. Since no members of the group [672] are considered capable of conducting affairs, all the legal transactions which they undertake are treated as though they had been sanctioned by the patriarch. To a large extent the members of the group may represent one another. In the absence of the elder, a younger member may act as the representative of the [623] group at council meetings. When the senior member dies, his function will be taken over by the next oldest member of the group.

614 602 An A-group will split up only through internal conflicts which cannot be bridged or through a large population increase. The newly-formed A-groups continue to maintain a close relationship which, at first, is much closer than among the B-groups whose A-groups have split much earlier. In the higher ranks cohesion after the split diminishes only gradually; thus many gradations develop in the feeling of cohesion. These gradations could not be even approximately reproduced in a diagram with any degree of exactitude. There is no formula by which the split takes place, as there is, for example, among the Tallensi (13)

13. Fortes, The Dynamics of Clanship, p. 34 f.

where it is determined by a certain number of generations. 614 Theoretically the A-groups are "eternal." The A-groups are 596 subdivided into small families. Within the polygynous families 592 nuclear families [Familienkerne] (14) have a semi-independent

14. Thurnwald, Menschliche Gesellschaft, Vol. 4, p. 12.

position economically. Each wife has her own house. A husband's wives and the wives of his sons have their houses within the same homestead. As the master of the homestead, the father has an open shelter where the men spend their time and [768] hold their meetings. Upon the death of the master of the

614 homestead, it is deserted by the inhabitants. On the new dwelling site the sons each build their own shelter. In contrast to the groups of the type A-E, the group living within a homestead is finite: its existence ends with the father's death. Only a man whose father (in the European meaning of the term) has died may have a shelter. Thus the homestead community is interposed between the A-group and the small family.

614 To sum up the characteristic features of the A-groups: Membership determined by male descent; unity of legal power, especially insofar as landed property and inheritance law is concerned the senior has full power; succession by simple seniority; theoretically unlimited existence of the group. The A-groups consist of small families who live together in homesteads under one father in each case.

Groups of Rank B

614 There is usually a friendly, neighborly relationship between the A-groups which form part of a B-group. People assist each other to a large extent, and there is joint consultation on most matters. Group B has only one Nkúmú iloki, "master of the hidden power," the priest of the kinship group, who is consulted by all the members of the group. He functions during the magical preparations for the hunt; he is consulted before any important undertaking. During the leave-taking ceremony after a burial, he converses with the deceased, and people turn to him when the ancestors have appeared to them in their dreams to transmit their desires, orders, or other information to the living. He protects the people of his group from the ill will, ndoki, of the dead and the living. The priest of the kinship group is used as the criterion [194] to determine which group of homogeneous A-groups represents a B-group. The priest of the kinship group is descended from a certain one of the related A-groups.

614 There is a difference in rank among the A-groups of a B-group -- one group will be regarded as older -- but this is

614 554 only of lesser importance (see below, under local groups). The headman of the B-group is the oldest of the seniors of the related A-groups, that is, the senior of the B-group. He is not, however, fully in charge of affairs like the elder of the A-group; he should rather be seen as princeps inter pares. This, of course, does not affect his position as senior of his own A-group.

614 423 Within a B-group landed property is often still regarded as belonging together, even though fixed boundaries between the territories of the constituent groups may already exist. In general, however, it may be assumed that the other elders will not object if a hunting expedition is extended to their territory, if, under certain circumstances, the soil of their district is used for planting, or if certain wild plants are taken from there for building a house or as raw material for a craftsman. Membership in a B-group is determined by membership in an A-group.

614 895 At this point we shall not enter into a discussion of the genealogical peculiarities which result from the significance of the bride price. We learned of one case of incest which occurred between members of two A-groups which formed a B-group, but we have not heard of anything like that occurring within an A-group. In this connection, however, we do not refer to those acts of incest which are required to make a particularly powerful charm become effective.

Summing up all that is characteristic of B-groups:

614 There is only one priest of the kinship group; cohesion within a B-group is very close, people cooperate extensively, all important matters are decided by the group, even those which, strictly speaking, concern only the constituent A-groups; in this connection, the oldest of the seniors has a somewhat privileged position.

Groups of Rank C

The cohesion within a group of this category is considerably looser, although on this level particularly one can find great differences among the individual groups. For example, the groups Lovendo and Besilo consider themselves much closer

614 to each other than either of these groups with Nsambásálá (see Diagram 2). It was for this reason that in my dissertation I divided this rank into two different ranks (kinship subgroups I^{o} and II^{o}). (15) Since there are no obvious criteria for the two

15. Müller, Fürstentum, p. 125.

ranks and since such a division is not possible in the other villages, I no longer make such distinctions.

[582] The groups of rank C are the exogamous units of the future. Although marriage is not permitted between the mem-
[835] bers of different C-groups, sexual relations between them are permitted. This permission corresponds to the lonkana of the Bokóté (16).

16. Hulstaert, "Mariage," p. 97.f.

Groups of Rank D

614 The groups of this category constitute the truly exogamous
582 units. It is true that marriages between "advanced persons" ["evolués"] take place even within rank D, but this practice is still frowned upon by the old people. In Isangi we also find the special stipulation that members of two D-groups, Ngelé and Nkoto, may intermarry, [195] but they may not enter into marriage with members of the D-group, Bolíma. Since in present-day Isangi, Bolíma is extinct, this stipulation only works to the disadvantage of the emigrants in Bolíma w'ási and of the children of sisters in other villages. The Bolíma group is regarded as the father group of Isangi (see Diagram 1); Ngelé is the group of the older brother, Nkoto that of the younger brother. This serves as an explanation for the special position of Bolíma in the exogamous system. It is said that it would not be right for a "father" to marry one of his "children" even if these children are the offspring of such distant generations that they intermarry.

614 582 The exogamy rules of the Ekonda do not only refer to their own, agnatic group, but also to all cognate groups to whom kinship relations can still be traced back, i.e., a span of about five generations.

Groups of Rank E

614 621 It may be assumed that these groups always extend beyond the confines of a village. Those parts of a group who have settled next to each other have their communal meeting place, but even the dispersed fractions of the group may come there to consult. In former times probably only one such group had a nkúmú, a sacred prince who lived in the main village (e.g., Isangi), while the other villages were ruled by the senior. Once the title of nkúmú was also bestowed on persons from other villages, the importance of the E-groups almost completely disappeared. Also, in this category the local group plays a much greater role. Occasionally it even includes dependent [609] villages which have not yet been "paternalized," i.e., which are still regarded as alien. In this connection it should be mentioned that probably all larger local groups tend to reconstitute themselves into kinship groups by reinterpreting the genealogy to suit their purposes. It is certain that the "kinship relation" of many "kinship groups" has been created in this manner. We may dismiss the possibility that groups which are divided from one another by the rule of exogamy will invent a kinship relation so close that a previously possible marriage would be outlawed. Also, the combination of other important functions of the lower ranks resulting from the invention of a closer relationship would run counter to the tendency of progressive differentiation (17).

17. We know through statements of the natives that about one hundred years ago the exogamy limit was lowered to the present level. Before that time only the Lonkâna was permitted among the Ngele, Nkoto, and Bolíma.

614 621 In general one may assume that local groups will postulate only that kind of kinship relationship which does not necessitate a substantial functional reintegration. For this reason, units above the exogamy limit will easily tend to construe a genealogy which "proves" a kinship relationship. Groups of that type are functionally weak. One can observe processes of this kind both among the group of the Bakonda and among the neighboring E-group, Lonyanyanga. The institution of the nkúmú (see above, p. 14) also appears to have a leveling influence. The privileges of the oldest (and free) group diminish in importance and fall behind the office of nkúmú. The new office is also open to younger and dependent groups.

Sociological Terminology for Kinship Groups

128 Before dealing with the units which are to be regarded as settlement groups, we shall compare the kinship groups of the Ekonda with the sociological ideal types. Keeping in mind the authors mentioned at the beginning, I shall now discuss the various terms used for groups which are applicable to conditions found among the Ekonda. [196]

Family

121 596 The small family is of no importance in the organizational system of the Ekonda. Nevertheless it is very important as the smallest unit of economic life. Each small family is potentially polygynous, but monogynous marriages are more numerous at the present time, especially among the younger generation. In view of this difference between potential and practiced polygyny, it seems advisable to follow Thurnwald in classing the polygamous forms together with the small family and to differentiate its nuclear families (18). In my opinion this approach

18. Vol. 4, p. 12 f.

seems to correspond more closely to its functional importance than Murdock's view, according to which the polygamous family

121 596 the material collected by Kirchhoff (21) and the ancient Roman

21. Kirchhoff, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, p. 88 ff., p. 96 ff.

familia would serve as good examples -- a patrilineal large family could be described as a kinship group, living, working, and maintaining a household together, consisting of a husband, his wives, and all his offspring, and splitting into the large families of his sons upon the death of the father.

Kirchhoff defines the large family in the same fashion, yet he takes care to point out that here, in constrast to a kinship group, persons who have married into the group are part of it (22).

22. Kirchhoff, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, p. 90.

Murdock's conception of the "extended family" is identical with this interpretation (23).

23. Murdock, Social Structure, p. 24.

On the other hand, in Vol. 2 (p. 22) Thurnwald regards the large family as a unilateral kinship group with persons who have married into it. This group lives in the same place and is governed by a common chief from whom all the members are supposedly descended. The kinship group, in contrast to the large family, may be scattered. [197] Thus, Thurnwald at this point puts other characteristics in the foreground, but the text allows the conclusion that for Thurnwald the dependence on the life of the head of the families and its temporary nature are the essential characteristics of a large family.

596 614 In this sense none of the units described under A-$E^{1}_{\wedge}$ is a large family. The wives who have married into the group belong to the group of the husband, but they always remain part of their father's group; in case of divorce they return to the

$^{1}_{\wedge}$ [pages 9-15, category 116.- Analyst]

596 latter group. Another factor which reminds us of the wife's con-
614 tinuing membership in her original group is the connection, never completely severed, between the groups related by marriage, illustrated by the practice of gifts and counter-gifts which are all part of the bride price and the dowry. When she dies, the [764] wife is buried in the soil of her group. In addition, the group membership of the wife is transferred to the children, although this does not have the same effects in economic and political [611] terms. Matrilineal descent is important in relation to marriage restrictions, certain avoidance practices which are passed on through the wives, and also certain privileges. Quite a large number of persons has settled permanently in the group of their mother or that of their grandmothers.

The decisive factor that makes the term "large family" unsuitable is the "eternal" character of the A-E groups of the Ekonda. However, the subdivisions of the A-groups which live together in a common homestead (see p. 10) may be regarded as large families in the sense used by Thurnwald, Kirchhoff, and Murdock.

Kinship Group

614 In the definitions of the term "family" quoted above,
121 we already learned something about Thurnwald's concept of a kinship group, but there is an additional reference to the technical term "kinship group" ["Sippe"]" (p. 17 f.) (24):

24. Menschliche Gesellschaft, Vol. 4.

"...A kinship group is defined as a clan (q.v.) which is not politically independent. Usually the loss of independence is caused by the distribution of the people of the clan among the various settlements. A kinship group is held together by the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestors and by their common cult of the ancestors. The kinship group is of special importance for the regulation of marriage (q.v.). -- A kinship group may be divided into kinship subgroups (large

121 614 kinship group [Grosssippe], small kinship group [Kleinsippe]), or it may have a tendency to split in half. A kinship group or a kinship subgroup may at times have a chief, at times not."

On the term "clan" Thurnwald writes (p. 16) (24):

24. Menschliche Gesellschaft, Vol. 4.

"The word is of Old Irish origin, where it refers to children of common descent, approximately in the sense of a 'large family' (q. v.). We now use it for family agglomerations (see Horde) who have become stabilized, who have a religious substructure through their belief in common ancestors, and who support each other economically and politically. It is advisable to make a distinction between the 'clan' which settles exclusively within one region and which claims this region for itself, thus forming a politically sovereign community, and the splinters of a clan scattered among communities which are independent in their own right, which we designate as 'kinship groups' (q. v.) and which usually are not tied to each other by any organizational framework; their cohesion is simply the result of the ceremonial-religious cult of the ancestors and a certain degree of solidarity. The origin of the clan and kinship group is closely related to the cult of the ancestors which symbolizes descent lines. Membership in a clan or in a kinship group may be reckoned in the male or female lines. Frequently one of the living family heads represents this family agglomeration which is, so to speak, [198] 'crystallized.' In this respect it differs from familial structures which become extinct upon the death of the persons by whom they were founded. In a clan or a kinship group the families succeeding each other are permanently represented (see Family, Caste, State)."

We may state that a common feature of both forms is that we are dealing here with purely unilateral units which are tied to each other by ancestor worship (this ancestor worship may be -- in many cases, it will be -- absent in the large family as described above). If we disregard the attempt inherent in both

121 definitions to present a theory of development, the differentia-
114 tion between the two terms appears to me to be very useful, and this seems particularly true if we accept the first definition of clan given by Thurnwald and regard the second as completely irrelevant for our present purposes.

It is true that our A-group lives in a certain district
● 614 which it claims for itself as its own "province," but it is never-
621 theless difficult to describe this district as a politically sovereign community. A political nature could rather be attributed to those groups which, up to now, we have not described at all, i.e., the settlement communities. Proceeding further, the A-group is integrated into the B-group, the B-group into the C-group, thus forming an endless chain; among those tribes who have a greater degree of genealogical consciousness than the Ekonda -- for example, the neighboring Bongili (25) -- the hierarchy of groups

25. Boelaert, "Les Bongili."

ends with mankind, the hierarchy of ancestors with God.

Thurnwald emphasizes this ranked structure, especially
121 in discussing the kinship group. Kirchhoff, however, fails to
614 deal with the problem of the kinship group in a manner which would be of value to us in differentiating between kinship group and clan. Dealing with the organizational structure of the peoples he discussed, he naturally was more interested in defining the border between large family and kinship group. Lowie (26)

26. Primitive Society.

only discusses the kinship group, "sib," calling it the "'clan' of British anthropologists", (p. 105) or "clans," if patrilineal, and "gentes," if matrilineal, "of most American anthropologists." The "ad infinitum" (p. 106) is also stressed by him in relation to the kinship group. Lowie also admits the possibility of subdivision with respect to his "sib," and consequently he even includes in the kinship group such forms as the "moieties," which according to Thurnwald's definition are still part of it, but which in his view

614 and in general ethnological usage are units of a special type.
121 Thus Lowie's and Thurnwald's views correspond to a large extent.
Murdock (27) clearly differentiates between a kinship

27. Social Structure, p. 45 ff.

group and a "lineage." In his view a lineage consists of a group of individuals who are able to trace their descent to a common ancestor, which for him in the majority of cases is only the unilateral "stem" [Stamm] of a large family, excluding those who have married into the group, but including the members who have married out.

Murdock's and Thurnwald's concepts of the kinship group are identical. On the other hand, Murdock differs in his definition of the clan (28).

28. Social Structure, p. 65 ff., especially p. 69 f.

Clan

618 Murdock regards the patrilineal clan as a local group
614 which consists of the stem of a kinship group and which incorporates
121 the wives of its members but excludes daughters who marry. As an example he mentioned the "groups" which in our society are connected by the same family name. If the group of persons bearing the birth-name "Wolf" in common functioned as a group of relatives, it would [199] be a Wolf kinship group, but those persons who actually call themselves "Wolf," i.e., the Messrs. Wolf with their wives, sons, unmarried sisters, and daughters, would constitute a Wolf clan (assuming, of course, that this group really functions). This concept of a clan is new. Even Murdock does not consider this definition very satisfactory and invites better suggestions. According to Murdock, the clan is a unit of eminent importance; terminologically it has not been possible so far to differentiate it from the kinship group. It is irrelevant in this connection whether the term clan is applicable to this

614 social group. It is true that the "Murdock clan" also exists
618 among the Ekonda on all the lower ranks, but only as a func-
121 tional unit which, like the large family and small family, is not really regarded as a group by the Ekonda. Among the Ekonda the feeling of cohesion between the indigenous group and those who have married into it has its basis not so much in the groups of relatives as described above, but rather in the local group of the type discussed further below.

614 The units which we described in the first part of this study correspond neither to the definition of Thurnwald nor to that of Murdock as regards the term clan. Our groups differ from the clan as described by Thurnwald by their hierarchical structure over which functions of authority are distributed. An added factor is that Thurnwald in the Lehrbuch (29) wants to define the

29. Thurnwald: in Preuss, Lehrbuch, p. 259 f.

difference between clan and kinship group by size and by ascribing to the former the element of political power. The only kinship group of the Ekonda which possesses strong authority, however, is the smallest, the one of rank A. If we let ourselves be guided by the criterion of authority, we would have to regard the smallest group (rank A) as a clan. Using the criterion of size, however, we would have to regard one of the groups of ranks D or E as a clan. Hence this term is unsuitable.

For the above reasons I have used the term "kinship group" [Sippe] for the groups of all ranks. With respect to the E-groups one might even speak of a subtribe [Unterstamm], but it should be pointed out that as far as the Ekonda are concerned all the groups mentioned above, including the tribes [Stämme] are groups or relatives of the same type, i.e., are "kinship groups."

For the purpose of differentiating between the kinship groups of the various ranks I have used the terms:

nuclear kinship group [Kernsippe] for groups of rank A;
small kinship group [Kleinsippe] for groups of rank B;

614 kinship subgroup [Untersippe] for groups of rank C;
kinship group [Sippe] for groups of rank D (the exogamous units);
large kinship group [Grossippe] for groups of rank E.

Local Organization

361 621 178 The second diagram[1] shows the settlement pattern of the Isangi group in its old settlement area up to 1949. At this time Isangi was relocated near the highway. Only two of the nuclear kinship groups of Isangi can lay claim to territory reaching far enough toward the east as to extend beyond the new highway. Thus, the resettlement process has led to a complete change of the settlement pattern. However, the functions of the settlement communities have not yet been adapted to the new settlement. At present the inhabitants are still so engaged in speculation about the possibility of a return to their own old territory that they have not yet reformed their village organization.

621 614 We observe that the village is divided into six settlement communities (30), each of which consists only of the members

30. See Diagram 3.

of one of the two kinship groups of Isangi. [200] We find that only the group of the father, which formerly was a kinship group in its own right, is attached to one settlement community of the kinship group Ngelé. Incidentally, we might point out that the names of the two kinship groups, Ngelé and Nkoto, mean "down the river" and "up the river." The older group is called "down the river" since in ngelé the river is large and wide. We come across this honorary term for the older group in some other villages although there is not always an "up-river" group. No corresponding settlement pattern can be found.

614 621 202 624 The degree of cohesion among the constituent kinship groups in settlement community I is so strong that the entire community has a communal bokendi, a communal messenger.

1 [page 7, category 116.--Analyst]

614 621 202 624 It is the task of the messengers to transmit all important messages to the other groups in accordance with a precise plan; this is particularly true regarding the invitations to the meetings of the village council with the nkúmú. At the same time they inform the other groups as to the program of the meeting. The first messenger calls on the messenger of the other community; the old men are gathered at the latter's house in order to receive and to discuss the message. The messenger of this community, in turn, departs for the next in line. As a result of this practice the messenger and his home became one of the centers of social life.

621 614 361 623 The same uniformity is found in community II. Here we can also see the engangala, the meeting place of the village Isangi and of its branch villages. The meeting place is an open space in which stands a short tree with a broad crown. The representatives of the several villages gather in the shade of this tree since one of the open men's houses could not accommodate all of them. The senior of the nuclear kinship groups Mpia (No. 14), Nsambi (No. 15), and Liengo (No. 16) has his house on this spot which is situated on the border of the territory belonging to these three groups. The elder of Mpia, however, is the messenger for the hamlet of Boyeke; he may of course be identical with the "elder on the engangala."

614 621 Cohesion within the third settlement community was also so strong that it employs only one messenger. The kinship subgroup Nsambásílí which is concentrated in this hamlet is said to consist of the descendants of an illegitimate child of the daughter of the village founder (see Diagram 1). As is the case in many [782] [624] other villages, it is therefore entrusted with the office of the botóni, who carries out the sacrifice of human beings and animals on the proper occasions.

614 621 624 202 The three communities just described are relatively homogeneous groups; the three following ones are quite heterogeneous. The two groups of hamlet IV belong to the kinship subgroups Iyolo and Mbo. In contrast to the kinship subgroups Lovendo and Bosilo, they regard themselves as sufficiently different from

614 each other to employ their own messengers. When the messenger
621 of settlement II arrives here, he first calls on the messenger of
624 the nuclear kinship group Bosóbé (No. 19) and then to Impfinga
202 (No. 26). The messenger from Bosóbé calls on his relatives in settlement VI, who are the nuclear kinship group Mbelo-Mmuna (No. 22), while the messenger from Impfinga-Ndongó formerly had to call on the group Bommambo which is now extinct.

Settlement V consisted of three different groups. Bolíma, the group of the father, had its own messenger; however, he only received the messages without having to pass them on, which is also the case with all these last groups of the village. Both neighbors had their own messenger. The messenger from settlement I called on the nuclear kinship group Bolesangi, his relatives; the messenger from settlement III went to his relatives of the nuclear kinship group Ituli.

There were also two messengers in the last hamlet, but reports on this subject are insufficient since the nuclear kinship group Bommambo has been extinct for a long time.

178 All the settlements just mentioned have a common
614 characteristic: formerly, at important dance festivals, their
621 young men performed together in one joint corps de ballet. The
595 population was decimated as a result of the rigors of [201] the occupation period and also as a result of the population move- [161] ment into the cities. Consequently, there are not enough young people any more, and I with II, III with IV, and V with VI act together. Thus, in each case we find Ngelé and Nkoto united in one ballet. Although these groups have also been scattered [361] as a result of the new settlement pattern (next to the highway), the old organizational structure has been preserved, and the young people do not hesitate to walk the long distance to the practice field every day so they can dance in the old groupings.

621 All of Isangi, all three kinship groups, have one common
624 village chief, the Nkúmú, with an iyolo nsíka who gets the meet-
622 ings started, and a village court with its judges. There are other groups which correspond to Isangi (31), but have more than one

31. See Mfiller, Fürstentum, pp. 73 ff., 76 ff., 133 f.

621 nkúmú. They, too, however, have only one man who opens a
624 meeting and one investigating judge. Only one of the nkúmú
622 has the function of judge. Consequently, we may say that even if the office is divided, the group still forms a unit as far as jurisdiction and political organization are concerned.

614 Among these groups we usually can observe a balanced
621 system of distribution as far as titles and offices are concerned.
622 It may either be predominantly democratic, as in Isangi, so
624 that all groups may lay claim to titles and offices, or it may be oligarchic, as in Mbanga, where all power is vested in the oldest group of sons. In most cases, oligarchical groups tend to disintegrate; the younger groups attempt to free themselves from the rule. Democratic villages usually have a greater degree of cohesion.

In Isangi the small kinship groups of Ndongó (Nos. 2-4), Ngonga (No. 5), and Boyeke (Nos. 14-18) formerly had the privilege of furnishing the nkúmú. This practice has been discarded, and the honor is now rotated among the six local groups of the village. Only the small kinship groups of the Bolfma, Bestlo, and Njalokuli are excluded.

621 The six settlement communities of Isangi and similar
614 groupings found in other villages are parts of a village which in my opinion are best described by the term hamlet [Weiler].

These are units which are predominantly intentional in nature. In spite of their functional weakness, they have survived even in the new settlement although they may not dwell together in a block. As a result of reintegration, they have lost their function as conscription district for the dancing groups in Isangi (see p. 28), but even at the present time they still represent the most important grouping in Isangi; we were aware of it before identifying any of the kinship groups. It is expected that they will lose their importance if Isangi does not return to its original site. By nature less closely connected with the or-
[562] ganization of the village of their husbands, the women have become the point of departure for the new order of things (e.g., for dance groups) which fulfills the requirements of the new settlement conditions.

614 621 624 [202] Each hamlet includes one or several message districts. Even at the time of the old settlement pattern the messenger system was determined by the hierarchical structure and not at all by considerations of what was most practical (for example, the shortest route). Consequently this conservative institution of the conservative old men has not been affected at all by the relocation.

The villages are the communities of jurisdiction and of political life. Usually a nkúmú, presides over the meetings. If a village has several nkúmú, one of whom may be the judge or all may preside together, I have used the term "part of a village" [Dorfteil] for the district from which each nkúmú originates.

361 621 178 Those areas which have a special meeting place are here referred to as a "province" [Gau]. The meeting place lies within the territory of the oldest or second-oldest kinship group. The practical importance of this institution for the entire province is minimal, but the two meeting places [202] which we discovered still constituted, until a short time ago, important social centers for the duplicate villages forming the administrative centers of the respective provinces. As a result of the relocation, the meeting places have now lost their function completely.

000 I hope that this paper has added new material to the discussion on the subject of ethno-sociological terminology, and that it will stimulate criticism and a new discussion of this important subject.

101 114 [218] The Nkundo [Nkundu], or Mongo, are an important ethnic group of the central basin of the Belgian Congo. They are patriarchal (1). I lived among their west-central tribes for

1. The rules and many details of the classificatory system of the Nkundo have already been set forth in Le Mariage des Nkundo by Father G. Hulstaert (Belgian Royal Colonial Institute, 1938).

20 years.

614 ● We call a clan, in the ethnic sense, the group of paternal blood relatives who have an autonomous territory in common. This resembles closely what Anglo-Saxon researchers like to call a "lineage" (2).

2. The quotations in this article are from The Pattern of Hera Kinship, by J. F. Holleman (Capetown University Press, for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1949).

I. Wise

601 614 A Nkundo calls his own clan his wise, from the word ise which means "father." My wise thus includes:

1. My paternal grandfather and his brothers and sisters who are called nkoko (pl., bankoko), "grandfather, grandmother."

2. The sons of my male bankoko, including my own father, all of whom are my "fathers" (ise; pl., baise).

The sisters of my "fathers" are my "female fathers" (isomoto, composed of isé and bomoto, "woman").

3. The sons of my "fathers" are my older brothers (botomolo; pl., batomolo) and younger brothers (bokune; pl., bakune). The daughters of my "fathers" are my sisters (nkâna; pl., bankâna).

601 The children of my "female fathers" do not belong to my
614 clan.

4. Like my children, the children of my older and younger brothers are my "children" (bona; pl., bana). The Nkundo does not have any special terms for "son" and "daughter." He simply says "male child" and "female child."

5. The children of my "sons" are my grandchildren (bonkana; pl., bankana).

6. The children of these male grandchildren are my great grandchildren (bonkanola; pl., bankanola).

II. Bonyango

The mother's clan is called bonyango, from the word nyango, "mother," and includes:

1. The mother's father and his brothers, who are also nkoko.

2. Their daughters, including my own mother, who are "mothers" (nyango; pl., banyango). The brothers of my "mothers" are my "male mothers" (nyangompame; pl., ba-).

3. The sons and daughters of my "male mothers," who are thus of my generation in our sense but who, to the Nkundo, are my "children," since to them I am legally identified with my mother and therefore I am their "male mother." This explains
[602] the unusual and privileged position which I hold in my mother's clan.

4. The children of my "children" are my "grandchildren."
[219] [Table 1 appears here.] [220]

III. Bokanga and Banankana

601 A Nkundo has other blood relatives scattered among the clans
602 who have married a woman of his own clan, be it a "female father," a sister, or a daughter. A Nkundo calls all the unrelated members of these clans bokanga. The related members, including children born to the women of his clan, he calls impersonally sisters' children, "children of a sister of the clan" (bonankana; pl.,

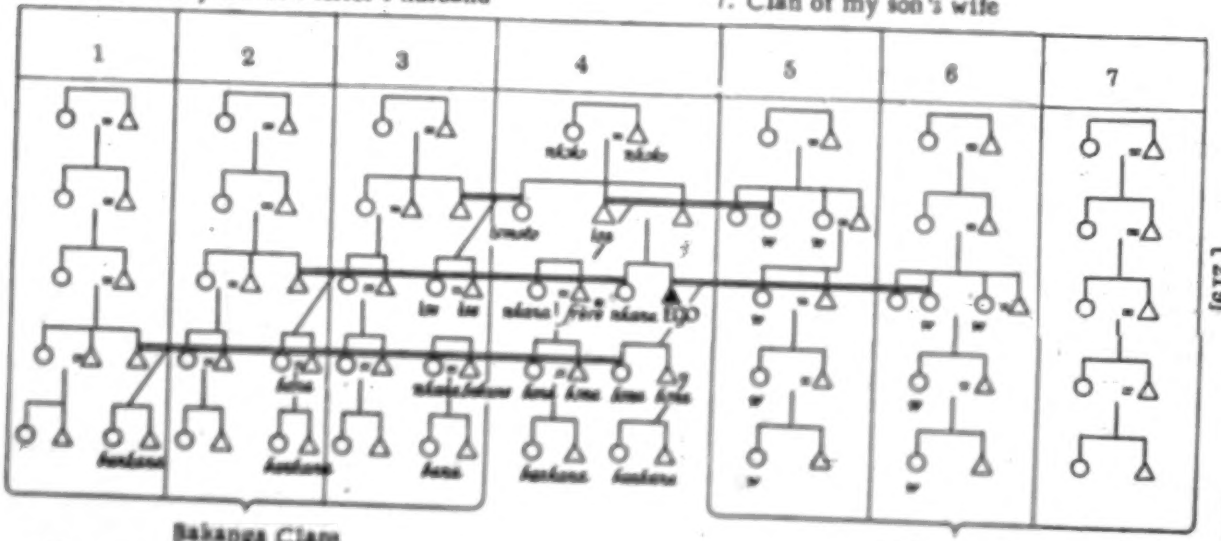
[Text continues on page 4]

601
602
604

Table 1

Relatives and Affinals through the Paternal Clan

1. Clan of my daughter's husband
2. Clan of my sister's husband
3. Clan of my father's sister's husband
4. My own clan
5. Clan of my father's brother's wife
6. Clan of my wife
7. Clan of my son's wife



121 in its relations to another lineage as a whole" (Holleman, op.
614 cit., p. 9). The author adds, "the unity of the lineage may be
602 broken by a division into affines and cognatic, each with their distinctive terminology, in which the cognatic section is one 'generation' lower than the affinal section" (p. 5.).

121 Just as we speak of a mother society or a sister society, so
614 the Nkundo can also consider an affinal clan as a moral person
602 and speak of his mother's clan as of his mother, of a bokanga
601 clan, of a bokilo clan. I do not think that the term bokanga or bokilo implies an idea of generation when it is applied to an individual, any more than does the French term "parent-in-law," or member of my family-in-law. The Nkundo would certainly not admit what the author cited here writes [221] [Table 2 appears here.] [222] about the Hera: "in inter-lineage relations, ... once the relationship between Ego and any cognatic relative is determined, all the cognates of the same lineage as that relative will bear the same degree of kinship as himself to Ego, regardless of the differences in generation . . . between themselves or as compared with Ego" (p. 5.).

The second rule would be that the clan which provides us a wife (bokilo clan of the Nkundo) is considered our "father," and thus the clan which receives a wife from our clan would be considered a "son." Moreover, among the Nkundo is understood: "We have given you our daughter as a wife, so you are our son." But also implied is: "We have enriched you by our marriage payment, and our children are your "fathers." These ideas, however, are not reflected in the terminology between affinals. Moreover, the fact that the Nkundo readily uses the term bokilo for his bokanga is significant.

Third rule: In lineages directly related to Ego's lineage, "the female line seems to be potentially one 'generation' lower than the agnatic male line" (p. 11). The author tells us that: "This duality is even revealed in agnatic relations . . . Ego calls his . . . father's sister either vatete (father's sister) or hanzwadzi (sister)." Thus, the women of directly related clans would be considered to belong to a lower generation than the men.

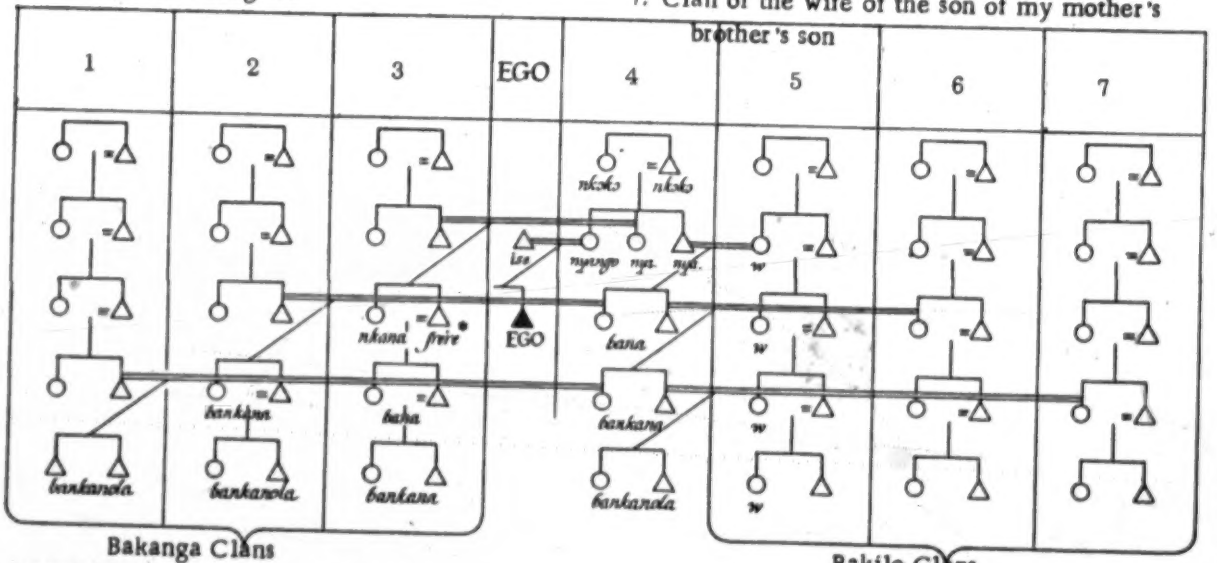
[Text continues on page 7]

Table 2

Relatives and Affinals through the Paternal Clan

601
602
614

1. Clan of the husband of the daughter of my mother's brother's son
2. Clan of the husband of my mother's brother's daughter
3. Clan of my mother's sister's husband
4. My mother's clan
5. Clan of my mother's brother's wife
6. Clan of the wife of my mother's brother's son
7. Clan of the wife of the son of my mother's brother's son



Bakanga Clans

All those undesignated = bakanga

[*frère = brother in French]

Bakilo Clans

All those undesignated = bakilo

w = wali (wife)

9: Boelaert--6 E,M-5 (ca. 1945) 1951 FO32 Mongo FO32 Nkundu

121
602
614
601

It must be stated that the tables of the bakanga clans presented by the author do not reflect this rule, since all members of these clans not related by blood, males as well as females, are designated as vakwasha= children-in-law. In the bakilo clans the rule seems to be founded on the Hera idea (according to the interpretation of the author) that all the women of my wife's clan are my "wives," no matter what their generation or age. This rule is not applicable to the Nkundo either in ideas or terminology.

There is still the fourth rule which the author quoted here uses often but does not interpret in his tables where it is completely opposed to the second rule: the child is legally identified with its mother. According to the second rule, the child of my father's sister would be my grandchild, and at the same time, according to the fourth rule, it would be my "father."

For the Nkundo, the fourth rule explains how this child is my "father," while the child of my mother's brother is my "child."

One may thus conclude that two rules explain the details of the classificatory system of the Nkundo:

1. In clans which have given a wife to our clan, all the women who are legally younger sisters of this wife, exclusively, are "wives" of all the men, exclusively, who are legally younger brothers of the husband.

2. In clans which have received a wife from our clan, the children born of this wife are identified with their mother by the children of this wife's brothers.